

34 Nolan at Balaklava: Part VI
Examining Corporal Thomas Morley and the 'Threes right!'
Order during the Charge of the Light Brigade

by Dr Douglas J Austin

34 [TWC 29(4) p31 2012]

In this journal, Lawrence W. Crider and Reggie van Driest have presented a fine summary of the Crimean and American Civil War (ACW) activities of Thomas Morley of Nottingham. **1** Further to their work, I note Morley's letter to 'The Times' in 1857 **2** and his pamphlets of 1877 (remarkably abusive and hitherto unmentioned **3**) and 1899 **4** and also E.J. Paull's 1896 quotation, allegedly from the 'Washington Times'. **5** Specifically, however, this article presents annotated reports of two interviews with Morley (in 1892 and 1894) which appeared in the 'Washington Post', the latter shortly after Morley's return to England. [I have omitted two sections dealing with Morley's ACW (see also **6**) and later experiences in USA. They are available for interested parties.] In combination, these reports shed new light - and credibility - on the long-disputed 'Threes right!' order. Morley's descriptions of 'The Charge' offer interesting details and include a number of inconsistencies - as so often in the accounts of that ill-directed event.

From the 'Washington Post': 22 May 1892: p 16:- HE RODE AT BALACLAVA A Government Employee Who Claims a Proud Distinction. ALSO FOUGHT IN THE CIVIL WAR Thomas Morley describes the Charge of the Light Brigade - Only Survivor in America - His Crimean Medals and Grand Army bronze. Came thro the jaws of Death, Back from the mouth of Hell, All that was left of them, Left of six hundred.

Who has not read Tennyson's spirited "Charge of the Light Brigade," and painted that terrible scene on the canvas of imagination? One man in America, and only one, can close his eyes and see that charge in all its reality; he can hear the shouts of the exultant Cossacks, crazed with victory, as the brave lancers fell before them - not in imagination, but from memory. His name is Thomas Morley and he lives here in Washington at 1809 Ninth street northwest. Morley is employed as a messenger in the War Department. The scenes of the Crimea - Alma, Balaclava, Inkerman, and Sebastapol (sic) - are not the only war-like sights he has beheld, however, for he was a captain in the Twelfth Pennsylvania Cavalry during the war of the rebellion, and served four years with distinction.

Mr. Morley is about six feet in height, of soldierly bearing, and weighs perhaps 170 pounds. His full beard, like his hair, is quite gray. His voice is deep and mellow, with a pronounced English accent. He was born sixty years ago **7**, and therefore was twenty-two years old when he rode with the Six Hundred into the "Valley of Death." Seated in his pleasant and cozy little drawing-room the other afternoon he told the story of Balaclava.

"I entered the British army in 1849," said he, filling a comfortable pipe, "joining the Seventeenth Lancers. A lance is something you do not have here. It is similar to those used centuries ago by the knights-errant, and is a very formidable weapon. My early history amounts to nothing until the Crimean war. Our first big battle was that of the Alma, and then came Balaclava.

"It was exactly 1 o'clock on the afternoon **8** of October 25, 1854." continued the narrator, relighting his pipe, placing his little four-year-old granddaughter **9** on his knee, and comfortably settling himself preparatory to telling his story. "Five small skeleton regiments of two squadrons each, the Thirteenth Light Dragoons on the right, the Seventeenth Lancers in the center, and the Eleventh Hussars on the left, formed the first line. **10** The second was composed of the Fourth Light Dragoons and the Eighth Hussars. The first line was commanded by the Earl of Cardigan, the

second line by Lord Paget. **11** We were drawn up looking down the valley and could see the guns of the enemy, who were in front, and also in the Turkish redoubt **12**, which they had captured.

"The French chasseurs d'Afrique had attempted a charge and lost about fifty men. **13** Now came our order to charge. At a hundred yards we broke into a trot. Just then Capt. Nolan, it would seem, realized that the charge was to be down the valley to certain destruction, and that someone had blundered. He shouted and waved his sword to the right. In obedience my troop leader, Capt. Winton (Winter), shouted, 'Second squadron, three's right.' **14** We obeyed, and it brought the right troop of the second squadron in the rear of the left troop of the first squadron. We went 'three's left' **15** when a shell burst in our midst, killing Capt. Nolan and a dozen men **16**, and dismounting several others. Some one shouted, 'Nothing but speed will save us.' **17**

And thus it was that the Light Brigade made the most furious charge on record, blunderingly ordered but bravely carried out to the bitter end.

"The cause of this charge, which almost annihilated the Light Brigade, was this. The Earl of Lucan, one of the commanding officers, was proud and quarrelsome. He hated every one, especially his brother-in-law, the Earl of Cardigan, and Lucan was cordially hated by everybody in return. Cardigan was brave, but a tyrannical man, whom no one loved, but all feared. So you see when the gallant Capt. Nolan rode up with the order, the two noble earls were quarrelling **18**, having not spoken friendly for years. Cardigan started for the enemy's guns, without understanding which guns he was to attack, too consequential to ask, and poor Nolan's death just as he was giving the proper orders for the charge, seeing the earl's mistake, was fatal. A personal quarrel thus caused the death of hundreds of noble men, too brave to flinch. **19**

"But to return to the charge. We had not advanced far when Capt. Webb, our squadron commander, fell, followed by Capt. Winter in a few seconds. Sir William Gordon, the left troop leader, was severely wounded in the head. The Second squadron was now without a leader. **20** On we went through smoke and bursting shells, horses and men falling right and left, toward the red-mouthed cannon. We reached them, the Earl of Cardigan first. Lieut. Jarvis shot one of the horses at a gun, and I cut down the gunners with my saber, as my lance had been shot away. We gave the horses to our dismounted men, and made off with the gun. **21** I engaged a Russian officer, and he would have killed me had not a button on my dress cap saved me. We came upon a column of Russian hussars, and some of our men, whose horses were wounded and could not be stopped, rode in among the hussars and were killed.

"We were now between the Russian Lancers and the column of Hussars, about forty of us together. **22** The only chance was to charge through the Russians. Being sergeant **23**, I put the Lancers in front, about eight, I think, and we rode at them, nearly all getting through. Here I received another wound. Continuing our pace we dashed through a line of infantry. Then came their awful guns, the same ones we had first charged. They were again in action, and in possession of the enemy. **24** We were now scattered, and each fought his way singly. Three of the forty got back to the lines, where we saw what was left of the regiment, which had gone into action 145 strong. The survivors numbered forty-five all told. **25** A sorrowful sight it was - pale, wounded men, and horses covered with the blood of ourselves and comrades. As we reformed into line again, out of the 600 that fifteen minutes before had responded to the Earl of Cardigan's order, 'Forward,' only 198 were left, and not one of them unhurt. **26**

"My dress cap saved me twice. At Inkerman, where I went out nearly to the enemy's line to find Coronet Cleveland, who was left wounded, my cap was shot off my head. I found him, however, and brought him back, but he died that night, having a pound of shell in his body. **27**

Mr. Morley brought out his medals; one from the Queen and one from the Sultan. The one from Victoria is a round piece of silver, on one side a relief of Victoria and the words "Crimea, 1854." The reverse shows in relief an English warrior standing, broken sword in hand **28**, with a shield bearing the lion, and Fame by his side crowning him with laurel. This is suspended to a ribbon mounted on the end with a silver skull and crossbones, and the words "Or glory." being the Seventeenth Lancers' motto, "Death or glory." **29**

On a vine twined about the ribbon are inscribed the names of the principal battles fought in the Crimea - Alma, Balaclava, Inkerman, and Sebastopol. The medal from the Sultan is the same size as the other, and is also of silver. On one side are some Turkish letters, and upon the other a relief of a cannon, anchor, and the French, English, Turkish, and Sardinian colors. **30** Mr. Morley is justly proud of these medals; he also exhibits his Grand Army bronze. **31** During the late war Capt. Morley was in many important battles, and a prisoner at Libby Prison. **32**

Mr. Morley has a book printed a year ago in London, giving the address of all of those living of the original 198 who survived the charge, now reduced to half the number. Sergt. Thomas Morley, Seventeenth Lancers, Washington, D. C" appears in the list, the only one in America, although a number of others claim that honor. There is a "survivors' society" of which he is a member, and only those "who rode" are admitted.

From the 'Washington Post: 24 June 1894: p 19:- SURVIVOR OF THE 600: Thomas Morley Was in the Charge of the Light Brigade. : DEATH OR GLORY LANCERS: Memories of Balaklava Recalled Forty Years After by a Washington Survivor of that Famous Charge - Made Famous in History and Song the Remnant of that Little Band Still Meets Annually for a Commemoration Banquet of the Event.

"There is a man living in Washington who carries about with him enough thrilling memories to stock the lives of a few hundred ordinary citizens with recollections of war, glory, and disaster. This is Capt. Thomas Morley, the only man in the United States who rode in the famous charge of the 600 at Balaklava. He was a sergeant in the English cavalry in the Crimea, afterwards (recommended by Gen. C. F. Havelock **33** to our army) an instructor and a captain of cavalry in the Northern Army through the war. Here he saw plenty of hard riding and hot fighting, and was a prisoner in Libby for a year. **34** [Omitted ACW section 1.]

There is one peculiar thing about Capt Morley's experiences. They are all mixed up with some other person's mistakes. The charge of the Light Brigade is perhaps the most famous episode in the history of the war. It was a thing that sent a thrill of pride, wonder, and pity around the world. "Some one had blundered." There was no Tennyson to crystallize the sentiments roused by the Ford's Theater disaster **35** into a famous poem, but that one line fits both occasions. When a prisoner in Libby he was compelled to be vaccinated, and the stuff was a poison that nearly killed him. Fate seems to have selected him as a victim of egregious mistakes, but one thing has been demonstrated, he was not easily frightened. Capt. Morley is a dignified man, without any airs. His memory is wonderfully distinct, and he talks in a very interesting way about his adventures on the rare occasions when he refers to them at all.

Disaster Worse Than Battle.

Capt. Morley was asked the other day if there was any similarity in his sensations in the falling building and in the terrific charge of the 600. He answered promptly: "No. There is no comparison. The feeling under fire and in a disaster is entirely different. I could not say how many times in my life I have been under hot fire. The charge of the Light Brigade was far worse than any other battle, but I never thought about being killed. Of course I knew the chances were that I would be, but I

never stopped to think about it. We were in action, and we did what we had to do. [Omitted ACWsection 2.]

Memories of the Charge.

"As for the charge of the Light Brigade," said Capt. Morley, "I believe I remember it more distinctly than I do some things that happened last week, though it will be forty years ago next October.

"During the morning we had been stationed in the South Valley, as it was called, near the Heavy Brigade. We were close to them when they had their engagement with the Russians, but we were not ordered into action. **36** It was a brilliant affair, but there were not many lives lost. The Russians attacked them when they were unprepared, some of them at breakfast, I think, some gone to water their horses. Anyway, they were all tangled up, but they soon got straightened out and made a splendid charge, driving the Russians before them. Of course, they were all very large men, and their horses were large. The Russians had small horses. They would shrink and scatter all sorts when the heavies charged them. **37**

"After that we maneuvered around a little, and were finally stationed over in the North Valley, little knowing that the events of the next hour would make the spot so famous that histories would contain dozens of maps of it and every hillock almost would be a subject of interest. It was a little valley about five hundred yards wide, I suppose, at the narrowest part and sloping gently down in front of us for about a mile to a Russian battery behind and around which the main army lay. There were Russian batteries on the Causeway Heights, which were at our right, and among the Fedioukine Heights at the left.

"I did not see the arrival of the order for us to move, and, of course, when we were ordered forward I hardly knew what we were going to do. I was a non-commissioned officer and consequently at the end of the line, right flank of the second squadron in the Seventeenth Lancers. **38** They were known as the "Death or Glory" Lancers. As we started down the slope I saw the action of Capt. Nolan which has been the subject of so much controversy. He was the aid-de-camp who brought the order for us to move. After Lord Cardigan and the brigade had struck a good trot Nolan saw that the movement was directed straight down the valley instead of against the batteries at the right. He shouted and waved his sword toward the right. My troop leader, Capt. Winter, evidently understood it, for he gave the order, 'Second Squadron, threes right,' and we obeyed. **39** This brought the right troop of the second squadron in the rear of the left troop of the first squadron. At this moment a piece of shell struck Nolan and killed him. He gave a most peculiar, unearthly scream, and his horse galloped back, throwing his lifeless body off as it turned and dashed through the intervals between the lines. **40** I heard Corp. Nunnerley, still living at Ormskirk, shout "Threes left; forward!" and we went left and on down the valley at great speed. **41** In the next instant a shell burst right in our troop and killed or dismounted a dozen or so. My horse was knocked down, but not wounded, and got up without throwing me.

"All that happened in the first few hundred yards. By that time the uproar of cannon and the smoke and confusion from so many falling in front and all around us was so great that no one could tell very clearly what was going on. Capt. Winter, our squadron commander, was killed before we had gone far. **42** His body was never seen. Capt. Webb fell out mortally wounded **43**, our troop was left without leaders, but on we went like mad. The batteries at the right and left were bad enough, but they had a slight disadvantage in having to shoot down hill. The guns in front did the most destruction. They had a fair sweep and raked us through and through. The Russians were good gunners. The cannon went off in our faces in a terrific volley just as we reached them, and the next instant we were through them, over them, round them, in some way, straggling groups of us fighting the gunners and supports.

"Lord Cardigan, on his white-legged horse, was one of the first persons I saw after we passed the guns, but I was looking for officers of my troop. The Lancers and Thirteenth Light Dragoons wore blue uniforms, with white facings very similar. I saw an officer I thought belonged to the Seventeenth and rode up to him. It was Lieut. Jarvis, of the Thirteenth Light Dragoons, one of the bravest and most gallant officers that I ever knew. I said to him, 'There's Lord Cardigan over there.' He said, 'Never mind; let's take this gun.' We rode up to a cannon the Russians were already moving off. Jarvis pulled out his revolver and shot one of the horses, while I slashed away at the gunners with my sword, and they disappeared and left us with the gun. We did not get far with it before the Cossacks came after us. They swarmed around us like bees. I wanted to get on the other side of the gun, but if I had taken time to get to the other side the Cossacks could have killed me with their lances. They carried lances about twelve feet long. So the only thing to do was to ride at them pell-mell and I got through them, but a lot of them chased me into a body of cavalry, and I had to ride through that. Then a Russian officer attacked me. My lance had been shot away coming down, but I was a good swordsman. He cut my sword half through and gave me such a blow on my head that nothing but my heavy dress cap saved my skull. I managed to get a blow across his face that satisfied him. All this separated me from Jarvis, but I saw no other officer so far down as he and his conduct at the gun and all through should have entitled him to the Victoria Cross.

"Then we were fighting all tangled up together. I saw Corp. Hall, covered with blood, his lance trailing. I shouted to him to throw it away. I wanted to get it myself, but I had no time. They took the poor fellow prisoner, and he died under amputation among the Russians. I saw a body of forty or so of our men driving a brigade of Russian Hussars down the valley. It was madness, and I rode down the rear and shouted to them to turn back. I saw young Clifford, of our troop, ride in among them and cut to pieces, and killed, and others. The Hussars came to a halt and came about. We were half a mile beyond the guns then. I saw a regiment of lancers, with flags on their lances, advancing down the valley. I rode toward them, thinking at first they were French lancers who had come to re-enforce us. When I was within thirty yards they fired on me, and I saw the long gray coats of the Jopotkine (sic) lancers.



Morley in uniform
(re-used in 1899 pamphlet) 44

Morley's Crimea Medals
(With a 17th Lancers badge.) 45

"I rode back a little and shouted to our men and they rallied round me. The Hussars were coming up and these lancers were in front. In two or three minutes we would all have been prisoners. Lieut. [sic] Wightman joined me at that moment. By the way, in an article he wrote for the Nineteenth Century, May, 1892, he describes me as a 'rough Nottingham man with my long hair flying and bellowing out Nottingham oaths, as he carried the squad through the Russian ranks as if they were tinsel paper.' Some of my friends took umbrage at this speech, but it only amused me, for, as the poet says, 'In peace there is nothing so adorns a man as gentleness, but when grim visaged war puts on its wrinkled front, then imitate the action of the tiger.' 46 I know Wightman, and correspond with him. He is secretary of our Commemoration Society. He says, 'We fell in with the handful this man of the hour had gathered round him,' and if he thought I was rough he certainly did not think I was forgetful of my comrades. I was a young man of twenty-three, with rather long white hair. My hat had been knocked off by the Russian officer in the scrimmage, and I have no doubt my hair was rumpled. I didn't suppose I used any oaths, but if Wightman says he heard me, I won't contradict him. One thing I knew, the enemy were all around and were getting into action. I shouted to the fellows to fall in, as we must cut our way out. I put those who had lances in front, and led them. We closed up and got a good speed on, and as we came up to them at full gallop we could see the Russians pulling back on their horses. I was the first one through the ranks, but it was not much like paper. I got a lance cut in my hand, and three men fell near me. As we went through, others of our men galloped round the flanks. Then we had to pass a body of infantry, and they fired a volley into us. It was there Wightman fell. He and Marshall were captured, one with nine and the other with thirteen wounds, but both survived. It was still several hundred yards to the guns, which were again manned and in action. We charged through them and scattered up the valley. Two or three men kept close to me. We rode on the slope of the hill, not in the track we had followed going down.

"We were the last to get back. 47 The skeleton lines of the regiments were on parade, the roll had been called and Cardigan had made his speech before we got there. We made forty-five to answer to the call of our regiment. They went into action one hundred and forty-five. Of the whole brigade, six hundred and seventy, there were one hundred and ninety-five to answer roll-call. All of them had some bloody mark except Lord Cardigan. His clothes were cut but I believe he did not have a scratch. My recollection is that he was the only one who went through the engagement without bloodshed. There is quite a scar on my right hand, but I never thought of taking the wound to a surgeon then.

English Soldiers.

"People often seem to think the most remarkable thing in the whole affair was the amount of fighting that was done after we got down to the guns. It seems incredible that a whole army should have been thrown into confusion and momentarily into retreat by a handful of men who had been almost cut to pieces. I have been asked why we thought of such a thing as capturing the guns, and all that. I can only say that English soldiers are not like any others. They are not worth anything at digging trenches and such work. I have set a squad of them to dig a grave and had them all day about it, but they certainly will fight when their blood is up, and it is up all the time. The ride down the valley only took about five minutes. Kinglake says eight, but I could have run it on foot in five minutes, I was the champion runner of my regiment, and we went at a gallop. We were twenty minutes in behind the guns fighting. There were a dozen or more charges at the Russian troops before we started back. We jumped off our horses to fight and capture the cannon I spoke of. I never could see why Lord Cardigan said he could see none of his men and made no effort to rally them there. I saw him, but only at first, as he turned and rode back alone. Volumes have been written about the mistake. Nolan tried to save us but fell dead. He was understood by some as was shown by the 'Threes right' order of Capt. Winter, but it was too late. Capt. Winter was killed, too. It was easy to lay the blame on Nolan because he was dead.

After the Battle.

"That whole affair, you know, was on an empty stomach. We had not eaten any rations even, though the Russians said we must have been drunk to fight so like mad. At night we fell back behind the entrenchments. During the night some troops of horses broke loose from the Russians and came galloping up on us. At first we thought it was an attack, and the artillery fired on them. We captured the horses and saddles, about three hundred of them. Balaklava was on the 25th of October 1854. Inkerman was ten days after. It was during the battle of Inkerman that I dismounted under fire and brought off Cornet Cleveland, wounded. He is alive now. **48** I have a letter from my commander, Lord Tredegar **49**, speaking of it. After Inkerman there was a big snow storm and snow lay on the ground all winter. The Balaklava battleground was within the Russian lines. Toward spring the Russian army fell back. As the snow melted off I went out very early one morning and walked over the ground. I saw an officer's sword, very rusty from lying out all winter, and picked it up. I have it now. The Russians had pretended to bury the dead, but they only threw dirt over them, and the rains had washed out a good many bodies. I saw an officer's body in the uniform of the Eighth Hussars, and believe it was Lord Fitzgibbons. **50** I could see the tarnished gold lace on the uniform. When the field was taken charge of by the English some of these uncovered remains were taken up and sent home.

Annual Banquet of the Survivors.

"The annual banquet of the Commemoration Society gets to be a smaller affair every year. I always receive an invitation. The others are all in England. The roll for December, 1893, shows eighty-three names, twenty of them of my regiment. This society has no members that did not ride in the charge of the 600. Of course there are lots of men living who were in the 10,000 general troops engaged at Balaklava, and the survivors of the Light Brigade have plenty of volunteers to swell their ranks **51**, but the society keeps records, and it is very easy to verify or disprove a man's record in that affair. What relics I have of the battle I intend to give to the National Museum at my death. **52** As none of the others ever fought in the civil war or became citizens of the United States, I think they will have a good deal of interest for people in the Future."

Capt. Morley has one boy named Balaklava, and one named Alma Havelock. **53** Probably his children will not need to be reminded by these names of the stirring events in which their father played so brave a part."

L. B. BROCK.

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I am most grateful to Larry Crider, Reggie van Driest, Glenn Fisher and Tony Margrave for their invaluable advice.

Endnotes:-

1 Lawrence W. Crider and Reggie van Driest: "*Thomas Morley - Crimean and American Civil War Veteran*", 'The War Correspondent', 21(2), 44-46, July 2003.

2 'The Times', 24 April, 1857.

3 "*One of the "Noble Six Hundred!" or ARMY INJUSTICE: by Captain Thomas Morley*", Prestwick, 1877. 25pp. An apparently unique copy is held in Bristol University Library, where I have lodged a transcription.

4 Thomas Morley, "*The Cause of the Balaklava Charge*", Nottingham: July, 1899.

5 The available text is shown at <http://www.perfessorbill.com/lyrics/lyltbrig.htm>. E.T. Paull's quotation of Morley's story may derive from the 'Washington Star' (archive unavailable) rather than the 'Washington Times'. The relevant section reads:- "The brigade struck a good trot, and Lord Cardigan headed it straight down the valley. I saw Captain Nolan, our regimental commander, who had brought the moving order from Lord Raglan to Lord Cardigan, waving his sword toward the latter, and indicating that it was the batteries on the right which had been intended in the order. Captain Winter, my troop leader, saw this too, and understood the signal, and ordered 'Second squadron, threes right.' and we obeyed. Just then Nolan was killed by a fragment of shell. Then Corporal Nunnerly, who is also a survivor, and is now living at Ormskirk, Liverpool, shouted, 'Threes left, forward!' In obedience to this order we went to the left and headed straight down the valley, every foot of which is now historic ground. Just as this movement was executed a shell dropped in the midst of our troop, and a dozen men went to their eternal home."

6 James Falkner: "A 17th Lancer in the American Civil War - Thomas Morley" by James Falkner (via the website <http://www.victorianmilitarysociety.org.uk>. Search for 'Morley'). From that source, I extract "Thomas Morley was born in Nottinghamshire in either 1831 or 1832 and he enlisted into the 17th Lancers in 1849...After the Crimean War, Morley was at odds with his new C.O. (Lt Col Henry Benson) and he left the Regular Army in 1857, joining the Sherwood Rangers Yeomanry in Mansfield as Drill Sergeant. In 1861 he made his way to America where the War between the States was in its opening stages...By 1867 Morley was back in Britain, and took the post of Drill Troop Sgt Major in the Ayrshire Yeomanry on 1st January 1868, being appointed Regimental Sergeant Major in June 1871. On resigning this position in June 1877, he again emigrated to America where he joined the government service for a second time. In 1893 he again returned to England and received financial help from the T.H. Roberts Fund. In June 1899, Morley published privately 'The Cause of the Charge of Balaclava'. He made much of his own part in the action and was vitriolic about Colonel Benson and Sgt Wooden - who did get a V.C. for his part at Balaclava."

7 Morley's birth year is variously given in the period 1830-1833.

8 Incorrect. The 'Charge' took place shortly after 11 a.m. on Wednesday, 25th October, 1854.

9 If this un-named girl was correctly described as his 4-year old granddaughter, she would have been born ca. 1888, perhaps to Morley's oldest daughter Beatrice (b. 1870/1871) from his first marriage.

10 This was the brigade disposition before Lucan ordered the 11th Hussars back to create a reserve to the first line.

11 True. Cardigan specifically assigned that command to Paget.

12 This may refer to Redoubt No. 1 on 'Canrobert's Hill' rather than Nos. 2, 3 and 4 on the Causeway Heights.

13 Incorrect. The 4th Chasseurs d'Afrique made their charge immediately after the start of the Light Brigade advance. Their casualties amounted to some 20-22 in total.

14 The **first** description of the 'Threes' right!" order was published by the former 870 Corporal James Iken Nunnerley (17th Lancers) in 1884 in his *Short Sketch of the 17th Lancers and Life of Sergeant-Major J. I. Nunnerley* (Liverpool, 1884), re-published in two further editions (1890 and 1892). It reads:- "The following is the personal narrative of Sergeant-Major Nunnerley: Whilst charging the guns, he was in the first line of the right squadron of his regiment. He saw Capain(sic)

Nolan ride up to Lord Cardigan, who was in front of the left squadron, and, after giving his Lordship the order, ride up to Captain Morris, then commanding the 17th Lancers, to whom he said, "Now, Morris, for a bit of fun!" Scarcely had he uttered these words than he was shot, being at the time on Sergeant-Major Nunnerley's left [in error for 'right?'] front. After giving a kind of yell, which sounded very much like "Threes right," and throwing his sword-hand above his head, his horse wheeled to the right, and he fell to the rear. As though obeying this death-like order, part of the squadron wheeled "Threes right," and, observing their left squadron advancing, with Lord Cardigan in front, Sergeant-Major Nunnerley immediately gave the order "Front, forward!" and so brought them into line again." [I note that Nunnerley did not record any counter-order from Cardigan.]

The **second** description first appeared as NOTE XI on p 437 of the 1888 edition of Kinglake's "*The Invasion of the Crimea*". (The 1868 edition concludes with Note IX and the 1877 Cabinet edition ends with Note X.) It reads - "**NOTE XI. RESPECTING THE PART TAKEN BY CAPTAIN NOLAN (SEE p. 219) AT THE TIME IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING HIS DEATH.** I have lately received an interesting confirmation of the inference upon which I ventured in p. 219 from the lips of one who was a trooper in the 17th Lancers at the time of the battle. This man says he not only saw Nolan with his right arm uplifted, and eagerly making sign to the troops, but distinctly heard him cry out 'Threes Right!' and he adds that some of the men were obeying the direction when Lord Cardigan countermanded it by vehement gestures, and by crying out 'No! no! Threes back into line!' This testimony is the more valuable since it was given simply in the course of a narrative showing the circumstances connected with Nolan's death, and apparently without any idea of either sustaining or resisting any particular conclusion. The witness says that Nolan had but just uttered the words 'Threes Right!' and that his sword-arm was still high uplifted, when he was struck by the shell which killed him."

[Because Thomas Morley was in the USA from 1877 to 1893, I suggest that Kinglake acquired this information (apparently viva voce) after 1877 from an unnamed 17th Lancers trooper. From its content, it is clear that James Nunnerley was not Kinglake's informant.]

The **third** description was presented in Morley's 1892 account (see my text above). From that - and from Arthur Waddle's useful text and diagrams in 'The War Correspondent', 13(3), 30-32, October, 1995 - it is clear that Morley rode in D troop, led by Captain Webb. Morley described Captain Winter, who commanded the Second Squadron (D and E troops) of the 17th Lancers, as responding to Nolan by giving the 'Threes right!' order. He did not mention Nunnerley's counter-order. (N.B. In error, this account reverses the roles of Captains Webb and Winter.

The **fourth** description was presented in Morley's 1894 account (see my text above).

The **fifth** description was presented in Morley's 1899 account, which included "I was only about seventy yards from Captain Nolan and distinctly saw every movement. Captain Nolan was in front of the 13th Light Dragoons, who took their dressing and interval and speed by the 17th Lancers, the regiment of direction. As soon as the brigade was fairly in motion, so that its direction down the valley was evident, Nolan rode away from the 13th at speed to the front of the 17th Lancers, reached a position in front of the centre of the 17th, gave his order "three's right" with his horse's head facing the regiment, at the same time waving his sword to the right, which signified "take ground to the right," then turned his horse and galloped towards the Causeway Heights, still pointing with his sword in that direction. At that moment a shell exploded and a piece of it struck him in the left breast near the heart. Probably the unearthly scream which rang in our ears above the roar of the opening cannonade was a dying effort to make us follow his direction. He remained in the saddle until the horse had cleared the right flank of the first squadron of the 17th, in column of threes, when the horse, finding the rider had no control over it, turned sharp to the right - the way

home - throwing the lifeless body head first to the ground. The 17th had instantly followed his direction and gone "three's right." The 13th had gone straight on instead of checking, as they should have done to respond to our movements. They were perhaps 25 or 30 yards ahead of us when Nolan fell. At that juncture I heard Sergeant-Major J. Nunnerley, of the first Squadron - now living at Ormskirk, Lancashire - shout in a loud voice, "17th Lancers, (Three's Left) or Front forward!" (I belonged to the second Squadron). We went three's left, the right flank of the second squadron lapping the left flank of the first one-fourth in front or more, so that the two flanks became merged together. At that instant, Russian Artillery in position across the valley fired a volley into the 17th, which seemed to paralyse it, killing and wounding a number of officers and men. It seemed to me a troop of horses fell, myself and horse being knocked down with them. I remounted and followed the shattered line."

15 This may refer to the Second Squadron's rapid switch back into line with the First Squadron, which was the Squadron of Direction for the Light Brigade's advance.

16 Incorrect. It is frequently stated that only Nolan was killed by the first shell from the Fedioukine Heights. Immediately after, a shell did strike down a number of men and horses.

17 Not otherwise recorded. Most of the Light Brigade (but not the 8th Hussars) accelerated rapidly.

18 Incorrect. According to Lucan's interpreter John Blunt (D J Austin, 'Blunt Speaking', CWRSP33), Nolan found Lucan accompanied only by Captain Charteris and an orderly (Trumpet Major Henry Joy, 17th Lancers).

19 Cardigan was strongly criticised by many for his failure to follow up the Heavy Brigade's great success but Lucan, in his letter to 'The Times' of 8 May, 1855, wrote "I have already stated that not the slightest altercation ever took place between us..." Morley appears to be retailing no more than camp gossip. Personally, I ascribe the blunder to simple misunderstandings by all involved in the production, delivery and implementation of the grossly ambiguous written 4th Order - with Raglan as the prime culprit.

20 D. H. Parry, *"The Death or Glory Boys"* (Cassell & Co., London (1890 and New Edition, 1903) :-

p. 208: "The officers with the 17th that morning were:- Morris, commanding; Captain Robert White, of C troop, who led the 1st squadron; Captain John Pratt Winter, of E troop, who led the 2nd squadron; Captain A. F. C. Webb, who led D troop; Captain the Hon. Godfrey C. Morgan (now Lord Tredegar), who led B troop; Lieutenant J. H. Thompson, of C troop; Lieutenant Sir W. Gordon, Bart., of E troop; Lieutenant J. W. Cradock-Hartopp, serrefile; Lieutenant and Adjutant J. Chadwick; and Cornet Archibald Cleveland, serrefile - Cornet Wombwell riding on Cardigan's staff."

p. 211: "Scarcely had the Light Brigade traversed a hundred paces when Cardigan's military instincts received a severe shock, for Captain Nolan, who was riding with them, swept across his front from left to right, pointing wildly with his sword towards the redoubt on the Causeway Heights, and shouting, 'Threes right!' in a vain endeavour to alter the direction which he knew to be absolutely wrong. Captain Morris shouted, 'That won't do, Nolan; we've a long way to go, and must be steady,' and Cardigan, boiling with anger at what he thought presumptuous interference, cried with great vehemence, 'No, no! Threes back into line!'"

21 I do not know of any other account which describes this seizure and attempted removal of a Russian gun.

22 In his 1877 pamphlet, Morley claimed that he rallied twelve men out of the forty while Wightman's account, dated 1892, stated that Morley 'had collected some twenty troopers of various regiments'.

23 Incorrect. Morley was a Corporal on 25 October, 1854. He was promoted to Sergeant two days later, on 27 October (possibly to replace a loss - as well as for good work in the Charge?).

24 It is by no means certain that any of the Don Cossack No. 3 Heavy Battery came back into action. Some element of the 12th Light Horse Artillery, which had apparently been withdrawn before the 'Charge', may have done so. This may account for the variant reports of 8, 9 or 12 guns attacked by the Light Brigade.

25 Captain Soame Gambier Jenyns (13th Light Dragoons) recorded that 48 men and 44 horses of the 17th Lancers returned from the action (1 Captain, 3 Subs. and 44 men). (See 26, below for details.)

26 Incorrectly, Morley gives 600 as the numbers of Chargers and states that none of the returnees were unwounded. The papers of Captain Soame Gambier Jenyns (13th Light Dragoons) in the Cambridgeshire Record Office include a table in the extract of his letter dated 25 March, 1855, which reads:- "The original return the Brigade Major took of those left about an hour after our charge. I remember he gave it to me."

"Returnd from the action at Balaclava Octr 25. 1854

Regt.	F.O.	Capn.	Subs.	Men	Horses
4	1	5	4	44	39
8	2	1	4	44	42
11	1	1	3	51	51
13	-	2	3	19	19
17	-	1	3	44	44
Total =	4	[blank = 10]	17	202	195"

(I note that the number of human returnees is often given as 195 or 198, but this table shows 195 horses and 233 men present thirty minutes after the charge.) In close agreement, Morley (1899) stated that "The combined forces who took part in the Charge numbered 670 all told, of whom only 198 returned mounted" [My emphasis of the word 'mounted'.]

27 Incorrect. Cleveland died of his wounds on the following day, 6th November, 1854.

28 Incorrect. The British Crimea medal shows a Roman 'gladius' - a short sword, not a broken sword - on the reverse.

29 That badge, an unofficial 'add-on', is also shown in Nunnerley's pamphlet.

30 This may be the Sardinian issue, given that many British-issue medals were lost by shipwreck. An image of Morley's Crimea medals (reverse only) is shown in this text as part of the 1894 interview report.

31 He is shown wearing the GAR (Grand Army of the Republic) Veterans medal for the ACW in a photograph and in a woodcut reproduced in his 1899 pamphlet.

32 Morley was captured twice by Confederate forces and was a prisoner in the periods 6-21 September 1862 and 25 June, 1863 - 7 March, 1864. His later term was served in Libby Prison, Richmond, Va.

33 Major-General Charles Frederick Havelock (1803-1868) - younger brother of Henry Havelock of Indian Mutiny fame - joined the 16th Lancers as a Cornet in 1821. He fought in the Siege of Bhurtpoor (1825), the battles of Ferozeshah (where he was seriously wounded), Sobraon, Goojerat and Moodkee. He fought in the capture of Ghuznee and the Afghan Campaign. During the Crimean War, he gained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel (with local rank as Brigadier) in October 1854 in the service of the Osmanli Irregular Cavalry and of Major-General in August 1856 in the service of the Ottoman Army. He received the Order of the Medjidie, 3rd Class. The Osmanli Irregular Cavalry organized at the Dardanelles in June 1855 and later marched to Shumla around October 1855. They never saw action and disbanded in May 1856. [Charles Malsam] In 1861, Havelock went to America and volunteered to serve in the Union Army. He spoke with President Lincoln on November 8, 1861 and on December 23 Lincoln nominated him to be aide-de-camp to Major General George McClellan, commanding the Army of the Potomac, with the rank of Colonel. The Senate confirmed his appointment the next day. In April 1863, Col. Havelock was mustered out of the Federal service but he successfully petitioned Lincoln for reinstatement, expressing his thanks on August 9, 1863. [Information from Larry Crider and Tony Margrave + web search]

34 Incorrect. Morley was in Libby Prison for ca. eight and a half months.

35 After the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, the United States Government seized Ford's Theater, with Congress paying Ford \$100,000 in compensation, and an order was issued forever prohibiting its use as a place of public amusement. The theater was eventually taken over by the U.S. military and served as the home of the records of the War Department on the first floor, the Library of the Surgeon General's Office on the second floor, and the Army Medical Museum, during the period 1866-1887. In 1887 the medical uses were eliminated and it became a War Department clerk's office. The front part of the building collapsed on 9 June, 1893 and killed 22 of those clerks, injuring another 68. [Morley returned to England thereafter, as an invalid, and claimed from the Roberts Fund.]

36 Cardigan brought severe and lasting criticisms on himself by culpably failing to attack the retreating Russian cavalry. He claimed that Lucan had ordered him to hold a fixed position near Redoubts 5 and 6.

37 It seems clear that the Russian cavalry, tentatively handled and clumsy, were genuinely intimidated by the British cavalry - especially after direct contact with them.

38 From the disposition shown in 14 (above), this would place Morley at the right front of 'D' Troop of the Second Squadron of the 17th Lancers, under Captain John Winter - with Captain William Morris commanding the regiment. He was therefore almost in the centre of the regiment's disposition.

39 Only Morley mentions Winter's order, which I am inclined to credit because Nunnerley (who lived until 1905) could have, but did not, contradict him.

40 This is unclear. Nolan was hit while in advance and on the right front of Cardigan. His horse carried his body back through the squadron interval of the 13th Light Dragoons. Several accounts clearly state that Nolan was hit in front of the 13th Light Dragoons. For example, the former 1460 Private Henry Dyson Naylor of that regiment reported that "We then got the order to

trot, then gallop, that was all the orders I heard; poor Captain Nolan dashed to the front of our second squadron and was in the left troops of the first squadron, and away we went. We had rode about half way down, when the enemy opened fire on us. The first shell burst and killed poor Capt. Nolan. I shall never forget the shriek that he gave; it rung in my ears above the roaring of the cannon; when his horse turned and passed through the interval of squadrons and fell; that was the last I saw of Capt. Nolan." (The Western Australian Times: Tuesday 25 January 1876 : <http://ndpbet.a.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2975450/728945?searchTerm=>) That would place Nolan in front of B Troop of the 13th Light Dragoons.

41 It seems likely that Nunnerley, who was in the front rank of the First Squadron, 17th Lancers (the right-hand Squadron of Direction) was simply repeating an immediate counter-order variously from Cardigan, Captain Morris (commanding the regiment) or Captain White (commanding the First Squadron). This disruption of the 17th Lancers' disposition can only have been momentary - a few seconds at most. Morley describes and explains the temporary overlap well in his 1899 account.

42 Possibly incorrect? Captain John Pratt Winter, who commanded the left-hand (Second) squadron of the 17th Lancers, was reported elsewhere as being killed among the Russian guns.

43 Captain Webb died two days later, after an amputation; reported in the 'Illustrated London News'.

44 This printer's block also was created for the 1894 article. Morley took it back with him to England and reused it in his 1899 pamphlet "The Cause of the Balaklava Charge", Nottingham, 1899.

45 This printer's block was created for the 1894 article.

46 Mixed mis-quotations from Shakespeare:- "King Henry V", Act III, Scene I: "*In peace there's nothing so becomes a man as modest stillness and humility: But when the blast of war blows in our ears, then imitate the action of the tiger;...*" and "Richard III" Act I, Scene I: "*Grim-visaged war hath smooth'd his wrinkled front*".

47 Possibly the last on horseback. Stragglers and wounded trickled in over the next 24 hours or more.

48 Incorrect. Cleveland died of his wounds on 6th November, 1854.

49 Captain Godfrey Charles Morgan (1831-1919) commanded B Troop of the 1st Squadron of the 17th Lancers, on the right of the regiment's line. He was created Viscount Tredegar in 1905.

50 This identification of Fitzgibbon's body is plausible because no other 8th Hussars officer was reported killed.

51 A great many impostors surfaced on both sides of the Atlantic - and elsewhere. Morley dealt fiercely with two or more based in the USA.

52 Some relics may still exist, if they were passed down to his surviving sons - Leonidas, Balaclava and Alma.

53 This 1894 newspaper report names only two sons and does not mention Morley's wife. In fact, his first marriage (ca. 1869?) produced one daughter, Beatrice (b. 1870/71). His second

marriage, in 1880, resulted in three daughters (Irene (b. 1876), Ethel (b. 1879) and Mary (b. 1881) and four sons, each rejoicing in striking names (Cesnolia (b. 1874), Leonidas (b. 1885), Balaclava (b. 1890) and Alma (b. 1892). At least the last three of his sons survived him. Balaclava Varadio Morley died in Los Angeles in 1978 and Alma Worthen Morley died in Chicago in 1973. I am accumulating biographical data on Morley and his family and would welcome further information.